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869 754 609 264 pertains to food but is concerned with how and where a person can safely eat rather than with what he can eat. A child is taught to be very careful with his crumbs and other food leavings. He is warned that, if someone steals such material and performs a certain magical rite upon it, he will sicken and die, and that, therefore, he should be particularly careful if he eats anywhere but in his own house. It is difficult for a thief of sorcery material to steal leavings from the floor or rubbish heap of your own dwelling because he would be killed on the spot if he were caught at it, but a sorcerer can pick up food leavings left in the forest with little danger of discovery. Since relatives may not sorcerize one another, one may [602] [571] eat in their houses if one is careful, but parents warn children never to eat in the house of a non-relative, for a crumb may fall, no matter how careful they may be, and non-relatives are not to be trusted. A child is warned that his blood is [826] another material which must be kept from the hands of sorcerers: therefore, if he cut himself, he should take care to catch or wipe up the blood in a leaf which he should burn or [825] hide in a safe place. He is also warned that his blood "goes into" any animal that he kills, so that he must be careful not to spill the blood of such an animal.

869 754 152 A child does not have to be warned frequently about the dangers of sorcery because his parents show such fear of it.[1] Whenever anyone is sick in the hamlet, practically the only subject of conversation is sorcery. Adults speculate about [521] the identity of the sorcerer and curse those whom they suspect. Everyone is worried and emotional. The almost hysterical reaction of his parents to sorcery impresses the seriousness of the danger upon the child so vividly that it is not difficult to teach him to be careful.

867 264 In addition to learning that he may not eat things naturally poisonous nor food contaminated by sorcery, the child is conditioned against eating food which belongs to someone else. In other words, he comes face to face with the property

[113] [1] Emotional attitudes as well as overt habits are subject to imitation. See N. E. Miller and John Dollard, *Social Learning and Imitation* (New Haven, 1941), chap. xiv.

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concepts of the culture, and must learn to respect them. As an infant, he suffered no such restriction, for no food that was available to him was prohibited on these grounds. During the weaning period he received some training in this respect, but it is especially during childhood that this learning takes place. In contrast to discriminating between things on the ground of their edibility, this restriction on behavior is not supported by natural characteristics such as hardness, bitterness, or poisonousness; it is a man-made prohibition, and must be inculcated entirely by means of social rewards and punishments.

A Kwoma child learns that he cannot eat any food that he sees, but that he may do so only if he has regarded certain property rights.[1] Several times a week his older sister or his mother brings a net bag laden with fruit and vegetables back from the garden. Bananas, plantains, spinach, coconuts, yams, and taros are emptied out on the porch floor to be stored or cooked. The child soon discovers that he cannot help himself freely from this pile of food. If he does so, his mother or sister scolds him: "Don't take those bananas; they were picked from So-and-so's tree and we are going to use them in soup." Sometimes he is told that certain fruit or vegetables come from his own tree or from his own plot in the garden; in this case, his mother is not cross with him if he takes some, but says: "Those are your bananas, but it is your turn to contribute to the family pot. If you eat them now, we won't have enough for the soup." On other occasions he may begin to help himself to a breadfruit that his older brother has just roasted for a between-meal snack, and get a kick or blow and a volley of abuse from this brother when he is discovered. On the other hand, he finds that if he first asks if he may share the snack, his brother usually gives him some.

After considerable trial and error of this kind, as well as after explanations and examples from parents and older sib-

[1] Property rights in respect to tools, toys, etc., follow the same formula as property in food; but since Kwoma children have few toys or tools, it is with respect to food that property rights are primarily learned.

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lings, the child learns that all the vegetables which come from a certain plot in the garden, and the produce of certain trees, belong to him. He learns that he can take and eat this food without interference, except that he must contribute his share to the family soup pot when his mother asks for it, and must share with his brothers and sisters when requested, if he expects them to reciprocate. He also learns that other persons in the household are usually willing to share their food with him if he asks permission and that sometimes he may even properly help himself without asking. The circumstances which determine when one should ask for food and when one may take it without asking were too subtly shaded for me to appreciate. I can simply record that Kwoma culture contains both these customs and that children learn to distinguish between them.

A child learns that persons outside his household are much more severe with him if he takes food without asking than are his own parents and siblings. Fear of sorcery makes a man suspicious even of his *brother's* children, and if they take food without asking for it, he may suspect their intentions.[1] A child is therefore even more careful to respect the property rights of the other members of the hamlet than he is of those of his household mates, and, as we have seen, this avoidance receives support from the sorcery complex.

The *maternal uncle* holds a unique position with respect to property rights. A child has the right to take any food that he wishes from this relative and need only announce the fact to him. In so doing, however, he incurs the responsibility of paying a considerable amount of shell money to him at the time of the age-grade ceremonies.

Since a Kwoma child can get food belonging to another person without being punished only if the owner gives permission, he develops varied techniques of begging. No stigma is attached to begging for food, and one may even wheedle or beg after an initial refusal. A hard-luck story which may be

[1] Although there is a taboo on sorcery between relatives, suspicious action from a relative arouses the fear that the taboo may be broken.

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entirely false is permissible, as is a huffy reaction implying, "Well, you are no friend of mine, then."

Children also develop the technique of thieving. They discover that if they take food secretly and then deny that they have done so, they can, if they are adept enough, escape the usual punishment. If they are caught stealing, however, they will be even more severely punished by the owner than if they openly took the food. Despite the greater punishment, most children develop the art of thieving. Mar and Gwiyap both told me that when they were children they stole tobacco, areca nuts, and other foodstuffs from their parents and carried them to the forest playhouse to enjoy.

Since the stealing of food leavings is a necessary step in carrying out the form of black magic most frequently practiced by the Kwoma, some parents are reputed actually to train their children in the art of stealing. Mey, according to his *brother*, Gwiyap, was being thus trained by Wof. The frequency with which he stole things from me and the technique which he employed tend to support this statement. One evening when he thought I was not looking, he took some of my cigarette papers from the table. I accused him and he blandly denied that he had taken them, showing me his empty hands to prove it. I looked under the table and saw that he had dropped the papers and attempted to kick them out of sight. On another occasion he asked me for some tobacco and I refused. A few minutes later he pulled an areca nut from his pocket and said that someone had attempted to sorcerize him and that if I looked carefully at the nut I would see the tiny holes where the poison had been inserted. It was by mere chance that I glanced up from my examination of the nut to see Mey quickly withdraw a handful of tobacco from the tin. He had invented the sorcery story to distract my attention.

However adept the child may become in begging and stealing, he must learn at this time that as an adult he cannot live by these means alone; he must acquire prescribed work habits in order that he may be able to wrest food from the environment when he assumes the responsibility for supporting

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865 Mey's story, the blows knocked her down and gave him a
593 chance to scramble off his perch and dash away. His mother
[604] chased him, but he had too great a start. Both Gwiyap and Mey reported that they stayed at a *paternal uncle's* house after these incidents until their parents' anger had cooled. When they returned, they got a scolding but were not otherwise punished.

• 867 A child is taught to be polite, not aggressive, toward those
602 of his relatives who do not dwell in the hamlet. He learns to behave properly toward his *mother's brother*, his *mother's sister*, his *father's sister*, and their children. A child's parents teach him to greet[18] these persons and to address each of them by the appropriate kinship term. Although these relatives seldom command a child, he is expected to obey them when they do. Not only is a child punished by his parents if he is rude to one of these relatives, but he is warned that unless he behaves nicely toward them, they will "break relationship"[19] with him. Then they will be like non-relatives, and he may no longer visit them with the expectation of a warm welcome. He may not eat food at their house lest they sorcerize him. Finally, he can no longer avail himself of the special privileges that his relationship to them implies. To the young child this threat of a broken relationship has little meaning; he is polite to his uncles and aunts because he has
[604] learned that it is expedient to obey his parents. As he becomes older and discovers that he may help himself to the produce of the garden and sago plot of his *mother's brother*, and that his *father's sister* gives him something to eat whenever he visits her and treats him just as does his own father but never scolds him, the threat of the loss of these privileges begins to become meaningful and he takes care to behave properly toward them.

[572] A child also learns to behave appropriately (i.e., to be polite and friendly, not aggressive) to the children of his

[576] [18] Greeting consists of repeating an abbreviated form of the phrase, "You and I may eat together without fear of sorcery."

[19] Any kin relationship may be broken, in which case the two persons behave toward one another as non-relatives. This will be described in more detail in later chapters.

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father's *friends*.[17] His parents teach him that these children are his *friends*. He is told that he can visit and play with these children without fear of sorcery, and that he should be nice to them when they come to visit him.

A child is taught to fear and avoid non-relatives,[18] as has already been mentioned in connection with sorcery. He is also warned that they are dangerous for reasons other than sorcery. Non-relatives, he is told, not only do not help and protect him as his relatives do, but may even have little compunction about hurting him. In addition to warnings, the child receives many object lessons from the bitter exchanges of insults and threats of violence which occur not infrequently between the adults of the hamlet and those not related to them. He learns, on the other hand, that non-relatives belong to the same subtribe as his own family and that therefore there is a limit to their danger. He comes to understand that they and his relatives have a considerable community of interest; that they will stand together against aggression from outside; that they participate jointly in ceremonies and court meetings; and, finally, that a complicated web of kinship bonds interlaces the whole subtribe and holds it together. A boy learns the names of non-relatives. If he meets one of them he may exchange a brief greeting and gossip for a moment, but, in contrast to a meeting with a relative, he is reserved and anxious. He never enters the house of a non-relative unless accompanied by an older person, and seldom plays with unrelated children.

A child is taught that foreigners[19] are even more to be feared than non-relatives. Not only will they sorcerize him without shame, but they have little respect for his life or limb. He is told stories of head-hunting raids, and most Kwoma children actually experience a raid in which some acquaintance or relative is killed and decapitated by a group of foreigners seeking prestige.

[17] A ceremonial pseudo-kin relationship established at the time of initiation to adulthood.

[18] Unrelated members of the subtribe.

[19] A member of another subtribe who is not a relative by marriage.

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that the boy has hitherto enjoyed, but in addition, since breaking the relationship removes the bars that are erected by kinship ties against aggression, may actually threaten the boy.

An adolescent boy may break his relationship with any adult or adolescent[92] relative. This is the first step that he must take either implicitly or explicitly if he is seriously aggressive toward a relative. After a relationship is broken, all the restraints described in the preceding paragraphs against injuring a relative no longer apply, at least in theory.[93] The two behave toward one another as non-relatives, and the control on aggression between them operates thenceforth as it does between any non-relatives. Sorcery, physical violence, and insult now become both potential dangers and potential weapons. Furthermore all obligations of mutual coöperation are abrogated. To threaten to break a relationship is thus in itself a form of aggression of considerable power. Adolescents learn to use this threat in order to force relatives to fulfill their obligations to them, and as a means of counter-aggression. To use this form of aggression a boy must be courageous, for it lays him open to injury from his opponent.

The following case illustrates the operation of this mechanism in Kwoma society. Gwiyap had for some time availed himself of the privilege of cutting sago from the plot of his *maternal uncle*, Payap. One day War, Gwiyap's *paternal uncle*, learned what Gwiyap was doing and commanded him to stop. War claimed that he was more closely related to Payap than was Gwiyap and proved his point by reference to genealogy. Since a reciprocal economic relationship is only set up between the closest living *mother's brother* and

[92] It is not until adolescence that a person is considered to have enough responsibility to break a relationship. Relationships, however, may be broken for a child by his parents.

[93] The training which a Kwoma receives during his lifetime to inhibit aggression toward a relative cannot at once be dissipated by simply saying, "My relationship with you is broken." The proposition remains relatively true, however.

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As with the *ceremonial-father-ceremonial-son* relationship, *friends*[35] are "safe" with one another. In addition, their children automatically become *friends*, and the idea that this extension of "safe" relationship is comparable to kinship is so vivid that the sons and daughters of two *friends* may not marry.

As may be inferred from the importance of maintaining "safe" relationships with relatives and even of extending them to persons not included in the kinship proper, a Kwoma adolescent has considerable fear and distrust of non-relatives. As has been shown, the parents engender considerable fear of non-relatives in the boy during childhood, by warning him of the danger of sorcery and attack, so that he has learned to be suspicious of this category of persons and to avoid them. At adolescence, however, he is thrown more in contact with them. He meets them at the various ceremonies, at court meetings, and on the way to and from his garden. His increased size and experience make him less afraid of such persons. Although he still remains on his guard when in their presence, and does not participate intimately with them, he will now gossip with them if he meets them, and even stop at their houses to talk with them. He does his visiting in the afternoon, exchanging betel and tobacco with his hosts, but he does so guardedly and follows meticulously the forms of etiquette. Above all, he is extremely careful not to leave behind him anything which might be used for sorcery, nor to give any intimation that he is interested in stealing sorcery material.

An adolescent boy is ready to become aggressive toward a non-relative at the slightest affront. Two factors operate strongly to produce this pugnacious attitude. In the first place, in his childhood struggles with his *brothers* he has frequently been told by his parents that he should fight for his rights. This social pressure toward aggressiveness increases with age. An adolescent boy who backs down when

[35] The sons of a person's father's-*friends* are his *friends* as well as those unrelated boys of his own age with whom he wishes to establish this relationship. The formal establishment of such a relationship does not take place until the initiation into adulthood, however.

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tions. Since both threats and instructions have been analyzed, it is not necessary to discuss commanding in detail, but it should be stated that it is an extremely important method of teaching.

Providing rewards, the third general category of teaching techniques, is also employed by the Kwoma. It consists of providing a reward after a pupil has made a right response. A teacher may use this technique after he has motivated and guided the pupil, or he may use it when either the motivation or the guidance or both have been supplied by some other agency. The general category of rewarding may be subdivided into helping, giving, and praising.

Kwoma teachers take advantage of the fact that a pupil can satisfy but few of his drives, either basic or acquired, without the aid of another person or persons.[35] Being helped is thus in many cases the *sine qua non* for achieving a reward. Teachers may, therefore, employ helping as a means of rewarding the right response of a pupil. They use this technique primarily to teach the pupil cooperative habits. In other words, teachers most frequently help a pupil after the pupil has helped them. The technique of helping is thus one of the important methods of transmitting that part of the culture which makes for in-group solidarity and reciprocity.[36]

Giving is closely allied to helping as a technique of reward, being used in the same cooperative context. If a teacher gives a pupil something, it is significant as a reward because the teacher has done the work of producing or otherwise obtaining the gift, and thus relieves the pupil of the necessity of doing the same himself. Gifts in Kwoma are of food, tools, or shell money. Barter and exchange are a form of reciprocal

[35] Malinowski has shown that all cultural habits are an integral part of institutions which imply the cooperative efforts of an organized group of persons for the satisfaction of a need. See B. Malinowski, "The Group and the Individual in Functional Analysis," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1939), no. 6, pp. 952-54.

[36] Hull has suggested a psychological basis for this in the principle of reciprocal reinforcement. C. L. Hull, "Outline of a Systematic Theory of Learning," sec. ix, *Educational Psychology Yearbook* (in press).